close touch with each other's activities and needs. 621

These residence arrangements had considerable bearing on the amount of help at hand for a pregnant, parturient, or lactating woman, especially since every woman expected to bear her child at home. A woman's first child was often born while she was still resident in the house of her parents or parents-in-law. If the separate household had been set up, and especially if there were other small children, a parturient's mother or other relative came to stay with her for delivery and post-delivery care, or a woman might return to her parental or her husband's home for the event. In fact, since husbands and wives were both needed in the fields, it took great diligence for a woman, without extra kinfolk in the house, to carry on child-care, cooking, and field-work, and then undergo child-bearing besides. The extensive overlap in the division of labor (Sharp et al. 1953:94-98), though, resulted in much sharing by husbands in the household chores, so that the burdens were somewhat eased. Help in child-birth was one of the areas of mutual aid freely accorded by neighbors, so all women could count on adequate or even ample help at this time. 621 844 592 844 472 593 [462]

Wealth Differences:

Way of Life 556 875 441

Real polarities of wealth existed. A well-to-do person owned rice fields, a good house, and had many devoted kinsmen. Teachers who were governmental civil servants and a few of the traders were somewhat better off because they had regular sources of cash. A poor man, owning no land, lived humbly and hired out at day labor and other odd jobs. Yet the way of life of the well-to-do was not very different from that of the poor. Practically all persons worked in the fields or at related activities, wore the same cotton clothes, and ate the same food. Rice was plentiful. Fish, fruit, vegetables, and fuel could be amply obtained practically without cost, though it was also possible to spend money on these. Yet here and there persons were beginning to lose their old satisfaction in life as a farmer. Changes were beginning to come in, heralded by such things as hair permanently waved, gasoline pressure-lamps, increased geographical and political awareness, grumbling over the cost of living, and frustration over rising expectations. Urban life as met with in Bangkok was viewed with some awe as a glittering universe with different ideas and needs, yet also with some uneasiness. The city dwellers sometimes looked down on the country dwellers and made them feel uncomfortable. [464] 556 511 178 369

Housing

342 The type of house, whether big or lowly, made a difference in the comfort and care of women. The big houses were teak-paneled and floored with a good roof of thatch, tile or corrugated iron. Their high piles insured dryness during flood season. The sleeping and living space was a single airy open room, often with one or two sides balustraded rather than solid, and protected from the weather by the roof's overhang. The kitchen was sometimes a separate room. There was always one small enclosed room, perhaps ten feet square, or larger, with a door and a window. This room was used for keeping valuables under lock, and whenever privacy was desired: as a marriage chamber for bride and groom, or as a quiet room for a senile parent. Because of its almost solid walls, it was poorly ventilated and hot. Childbirth took place in this little room, [844] if convenient, or out in the main part of the house. The fire-rest was in this room so that the dreaded wind could be kept out.

342 The poor lived in modest earth-floored cottages of bamboo
184 frame, thatch sides and roof, with one or two raised wood plat-
352 forms for sleeping and sitting. In the rainy season, these
844 cottages could be damp. In fact, one October the water was observed ankle deep inside a house, and the wife splashed around at her chores. Under the latter conditions, a woman in childbirth would be moved to some kinsmen's house. Delivery took place on one of the sleeping platforms, and post-partum rest was on a plank raised off the earth floor, unless space permitted that the plank and temporary fire-floor be placed on the platform. On one observed occasion reed mats as protection from drafts were temporarily set up, making an enclosure about three feet high within which a mother lay in her post-partum rest period.

Cash

434 Cash was short to everyone. The poor felt very poor and
426 the rich did not feel rich. This was because the rice-money,
[556] which came in a lump sum once or twice a year, was at once turned over to clear debts, to make large purchases of agricultural equipment, to repair the house, or to perform elaborate ceremonies. What was left over was not kept around the house for day-to-day expenses for fear of robbery, but was immediately loaned out. Thus cash was not available for emergencies
434 which in childbirth might mean taxis or hospital care. Being
844 rich or poor made little difference in Bang Chan, however, as
556 to the quality of the obstetrical help given.

178 a new way was a woman bearing her first child because she
184 was not yet ritually matured. This she wanted to be.
312 Moreover, her self-interest led her to try to profit as
846 much as possible from the experience of elders by first
885 following the old way. By incorporating the experience of successful child-bearers into her own and the baby's life and by asking them to initiate actions auspiciously, she augmented by that much her own competence, and laid the groundwork for her future progress. Self-responsibility engendered respect for elders. Thus there was no split between old and young over innovations. Experience gave grounds both for conservatism and for changing, but at different age levels.

178 Secondly, changes were adopted by the rich who,
184 spending their money rather conspicuously, sought to main-
556 tain and enhance their social position. Their wealth and position were in themselves unquestioned as signs of merit earned in another incarnation.

178 The changes being introduced to Bang Chan were of two
564 kinds: first the prestigeful, and second, those giving no increment of esteem, i.e. idiosyncratic changes of taste or convenience; or those reflecting individual circumstances. The prestigeful innovations were oriented towards the use of market novelties, modern medical care, urban standards of cleanliness and beauty, and other ways termed "progressive" associated with the city of Bangkok, cynosure of the eyes of the rich. These values were leading certain families away from their original occupation of farming, into the fields of teaching, trading, carpentering, cottage-industry, etc. Since these new occupations brought in steady cash and large land holders, too, had a good income, an association was found of
372 wealth, prestige, urban interests, and innovation. Com-
846 ment on the hot ashes container (fai chut) indicated that
178 it was a strong symbol of prestige and progress. To use it was "to get away from ignorance and the old way of doing things." It was "cleaner, not hot or ugly, and more convenient." One teacher took it up after reading an advertisement in the newspapers that described glowingly its more efficient healing effect. On the other hand, one woman abandoned the fai chut because "it was not hot enough to rid her of stiff muscles," so she went back to the use of the fire. "It is all right for rich Bangkok ladies who want to avoid a scar, but it does not give
177 enough strength for a farmer." She had no urban preten-
178 sions. Also in this prestigeful aggregate, observed here
278 and there, were the market novelties mentioned above:
554 bed, mat, and mosquito net instead of the plank-bed; kits of medicine from the Chinese pharmacist instead of the old

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

*125 *128 281 [282] *125 *128 521 *156 181 [593] the part of older people.[12] Particularly obvious is the absence of any reference to accumulating Buddhist merit. Neither is there any reference to the pleasures derived from dealing happily or enjoyably with other people. The closest we get to this is with the responses of two informants who are concerned mainly with the welfare of their children, and who speak in terms of "inspiring respect" in their children or assuming the role of "doctor" who, either by his knowledge (in case the children are ill) or wealth, could take care of them. Given all the conceivable things that villagers might wish to be—fanciful, real, personal, social, of this world, and of any world—the dominant wish is to have status, wealth, and respectability within their prevailing peasant context.

*125 *128 181 • 556 The next item, "*Most of all he wants to . . .*" is essentially a confirmation of the above findings. However, perhaps because of the syntax of the Thai version of the item and the inclusion of the word, "most" ("*The thing which raw wants the most is* (*namely*) . . .") the responses assume a considerably more extreme and "unimodal" form. The overwhelming majority of the informants, 77 percent, want only one thing: money. A few of them say that they want what are essentially cultural variations of money: property, rice fields, land, cattle, and jewelry. Several of them almost wax purple about the significance of money in their lives: "*The thing which raw wants the most is* (*namely*) . . . have money and gold, because money can help us all the time. Whatever one wishes to have, one can use money to buy it all. Even when one wants a wife, if one has a lot of money one can have anyone's daughter"; ". . . have money. Money is better than anything else. It is only the moon and stars that money cannot buy"; ". . . to have money. She wants money very much because when she lacks other things she can find something to take their place, but when she lacks money she is most unhappy"; ". . . have wealth because everything else comes after that." These responses, of course, explicate the major function of money. They indicate that money is not an end in itself, but a means by which to achieve some of the other life goals appearing here.

*125 *128 181 593 556 The minority responses to this item are in no case held by more than four individuals. Four villagers do give religious responses, saying that what they want most is to accumulate merit (one mentions both merit and money); three refer to maintaining the welfare of their families (one of them merging money and succorance by saying that he wants enough money to provide for his family); and four say that they want happiness (again, two of them linking money and happiness together).

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[12] There is nothing in the grammatical-semantic structure of the Thai version of this item inhibiting a religiously oriented response. The Thai cognate for the verb "to be" here is "*pen*," which could easily result in a response such as ". . . *pen khon thii mii bun*," or ". . . a person who has merit." This would be the most obvious "religious" completion under the circumstances. [196] [193]

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Decisions to use all these innovations--with the possible exception of the use of fertilizer--seem to be more widespread among the upper economic levels of the population. (See Table 8.) One wonders whether the initial link between use of the motor and readiness to try the innovations may actually disguise a more basic relationship based simply on ability to afford the investment and the risk.

TABLE 8. FARMERS* ON HIGHER SES LEVELS ARE MORE LIKELY THAN OTHERS TO HAVE USED THE MOTOR, TO HAVE GROWN MUSHROOMS AND TO HAVE RAISED TILAPIA

	Ownership of Buffaloes	
	2 or less (99)	3 or more (111)
Used motor		
Own	6%	37%
Use	53	43
Neither	41	18
Grow mushrooms		
Yes	30%	60%
No	70	40
Raised tilapia		
Yes	36%	42%
No	74	58
Used fertilizer		
Yes	12%	17%
No	78	83

* Male farmers only

The following table presents again the initial relationships between use of motor and readiness to try out other innovations. But this time the link is examined separately for persons on the different economic levels.

Table 9 was made by first dividing the population into two groups, those from high and those from low economic levels. The resulting two groups were then further subdivided on the basis of whether they owned (or used) a motor or whether they did not. In each of the four resultant groups the percentage that raised tilapia was then calculated. Those among those of high economic level who own or use motors, 45 per cent raised tilapia, and we infer that 55 per cent did not raise tilapia. The same procedure was repeated to ascertain the percentage that has tried fertilizer and subsequently the percentage that has tried mushroom growing.

This table shows that in Tilapia raising both factors operate independently and cumulatively, i.e. people who are better off economically and who also own or use the motor are almost two and a half times as likely to raise tilapia as their economically depressed counterparts who neither own nor have access to the motor. (45 versus 17 per cent respectively.)

The link between use of the motor and attempt to try fertiliser holds regardless of economic level.

The initial link between ownership or use of the motor and growing of mushrooms, on the other hand, is shown to be a conditional one. Those on a higher economic level are more likely than others to try mushroom growing, whether or not they own or use a motor. Those on the lower economic level, with access to a motor are more likely to take up tilapia culture.

TABLE 9. RELATIONSHIP OF USE OF MOTOR AND OTHER INNOVATIONS TO ECONOMIC LEVEL

	Economic level	
	High*	Lower
Owns or used motor (Proportion who have raised tilapia)		
Yes	43% (89)	33% (57)
No	23 (21)	17 (40)
Owns or used motor (Proportion who have tried fertiliser)		
Yes	20% (89)	14% (57)
No	5 (21)	0 (40)
Owns or used motor (Proportion who have tried mushroom growing)		
Yes	40% (89)	38% (37)
No	17 (21)	23 (40)

* Three buffaloes or more
** Two buffaloes or fewer

[231]

Literacy

One important hypothesis to account for differential acceptance of innovations is that the decision to try them out is aided by exposure to the available sources of information. If this were indeed the case, then users of these innovations will be more apt to be able to read and write than be illiterate.

Literacy was determined by asking each respondent whether

TABLE 11 LITERATE FARMERS* ARE MORE LIKELY TO HAVE USED THE MOTOR AND TO HAVE TRIED MUSHROOM GROWING

	Illiterate (Cannot write a letter) (92)	Literate (Can write a letter) (116)
Motor		
Own	10%	36%
Use	35	40
Neither	48	14
Mushrooms		
Have tried	30%	53%
Have not	62	47
Fertilizer		
Have used	12%	17%
Have not	88	83
Tilapia		
Have tried	29%	39%
Have not	71	61

* Male farmers only

If Long Chan were like certain areas of the United States and Europe, it might be objected that such a relationship between acceptance of innovations and literacy reflects a spurious link with economic level: that illiterates tend to come from the economically deprived strata of the population; hence an observed relationship with literacy may actually reflect the initial correlation with economic level. In Long Chan, however, this is not the case. A Long Chan farmer who is well-to-do is as likely to be illiterate as literate, as is illustrated by the table below.

TABLE 12. LITERACY AND ECONOMIC LEVELS ARE UNRELATED IN LONG CHAN*

	Literacy	
	Low (91)	High (119)
Economic Level		
Low	48%	36%
High	52	64

* Male farmers only

Hence the correlation between use of innovations and literacy may be taken at face value and does not reflect a spurious link with economic level.

TABLE 14. HIGH EXPOSURE TO COMMUNICATIONS MEDIA IS LINKED TO ACCEPTANCE OF THE MOTOR

	Exposure to Radio			
	High: Listens Daily (43)	Listens Occasionally (44)	Listens Seldom (146)	Low: Never Listens (80)
Small Engine Motor				
Used it	88%	78%	64%	46%
Didn't use it	12	22	36	54

	Exposure to Movies			
	High: Ten times or more (161)	4-9 times (60)	1-3 times (75)	Low: None (33)
Used it	76%	69%	59%	36%
Didn't use it	24	31	31	64

Of course it is important to check whether these relationships hold true when people on different economic levels are examined separately; for literates as well as for illiterates. We infer that the basic link between use of the motor and exposure to the media of communication holds for literate as well as illiterates; for poorer as well as for richer farmers. More specifically, the relationship between exposure to the communications media and decision to use the motor is even more marked for less well-to-do and for the illiterate farmers, in contrast to the better-off farmers and those who can read and write.

TABLE 15. EXPOSURE TO MOTION PICTURES IS LINKED TO ACCEPTANCE OF MOTOR ESPECIALLY FOR THE ILLITERATES AND FOR THE ECONOMICALLY LESS WELL-OFF*

	Exposure to Motion Pictures			
	High		Low	
	(Percentage Using Motor)			
Economic Level				
Low	76%	(47)	44%	(32)
High	83	(66)	75	(48)
Literacy				
Illiterate	63%	(36)	44%	(35)
Literate	88	(77)	82	(41)

* Male Farmers Only

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TABLE 17. VILLAGERS RESPONSIVE TO URBAN PATTERNS ARE MORE LIKELY THAN OTHERS TO USE AGRICULTURAL INNOVATIONS

Agricultural Innovations	Eat with fork and/or spoon	Eat with hands
Artificial fertilizer		
Tried it	21%	9%
Never did	79	91
Total cases*	(68)	(218)
Mushrooms		
Tried growing	57%	39%
Never did	43	61
Total cases	(84)	(242)
Small engine motor		
Own one or have used it	82%	61%
Never did	18	39
Total cases	(84)	(242)

* For farmers only; excludes all non-farmers

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TABLE 18. ACCEPTANCE OF URBAN PATTERNS IS LINKED TO ACCEPTANCE OF MOTOR AND MUSHROOM GROWING, IRRESPECTIVE OF ECONOMIC AND LITERACY LEVELS

	Economic Level				Literacy Level			
	Low		High		Illiterate		Literate	
Acceptance of urban patterns (Proportion who used motor)								
Eat with hands	53%	(77)	76%	(73)	47%	(73)	83%	(76)
Fork or spoon	75	(20)	89	(34)	69%	(16)	90	(38)
(Proportion who tried mushroom growing)								
Eat with hands	28%	(77)	58%	(73)	38%	(73)	47%	(76)
Fork or spoon	45	(20)	65	(34)	44	(16)	66	(40)
(Proportion who used fertilizer)								
Eat with hands	11%	(77)	13%	(73)	10%	(73)	14%	(76)
Fork or spoon	19	(20)	26	(34)	3	(16)	23	(40)

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[789] 22. Have you consulted with a medium frequently, occasionally, seldom, or never?

5. Frequently	7
6. Occasionally	4
7. Seldom	46
8. Never	898

[775] 23. Have you been disturbed by a ghost frequently, occasionally, seldom, or never?

5. Frequently	6
6. Occasionally	8
7. Seldom	58
8. Never	894

[641] 24.a. Excuse me, could you tell me, who is now the prime minister of Thailand? If you know, could you please tell me his name?

1. Correct answer	193
2. Incorrect answer	89
3. DK, cannot recall	111

b. Excuse me, could you tell me, who is now the chief of police of Thailand? If you know, could you please tell me his name?

4. Correct answer	167
5. Incorrect answer	84
6. DK, cannot recall	144

25.a. IF R LIVES IN BC CONSTR: Who is the district officer in Nimburi? If you know, could you please tell me his name?

1. DA, as from Bangkapi	196
2. Correct name of present DO	9
3. Correct name of past DO	—
4. Incorrect name	16
5. DK, cannot recall	111
— No Answer	3

b. IF R LIVES IN KT CONSTR: Who is the district officer in Bangkapi? If you know, could you please tell me his name?

6. DA, as from Nimburi	141
7. Correct name of DO	10
8. Incorrect name	—
9. DK, cannot recall	154
— No Answer	38

[494] [829] [556] 26.a. Throughout the world and here in Bang Chan-Khamo Tao too, it is common enough man that there must be some who are rich and some who are poor and some who are neither rich nor poor. How about you yourself? Are you rich, or poor or neither rich nor poor?

1. Rich	8
2. Poor	48
3. Neither	843

b. IF POOR: Here in BC-KT, do you think there are many or few people who are poorer than you?

5. Many	30
6. Few	31
7. Unascertainable	7

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

427 be relied upon in time of financial crises or other sudden needs. On the other, they were pictured as a Shylock type of relentless money lenders who never let an opportunity to make a capital gain out of the villagers slip away. Our records show several cases where Bangchan tenants took the sick first to allandlord's home in Bangkok before sending him to the hospital. It was assumed that the landlord would provide food and medical care while the patient was waiting to be admitted into the hospital, and it was assumed also that the hospital bills would be paid by advances from the 427 landlord. Only one case of an unscrupulous absentee land- • 556 lord was mentioned by Bangchan residents. This man is a nationalized Chinese who roamed around Bangchan some thirty years ago as a professional gambler. He enhanced his gains from gambling by lending money at high interest rates to the villagers on mortgage term and occasionally adding a zero to the amounts in the paper. Villagers said the he never hesitated to make good a foreclosure when the specified time expired, and as a result he is now in possession of about one thousand rai of land in the neighborhood of the Upper Bangchan Canal. Although he owns some land in our arbitrary Bangchan Village, the majority is out of our village limits, and thus the rent rate charged by him was not included in our rental investigation in the preliminary study. The villagers' account of this man's activities was confirmed by our Bangkok source of information who was a relative of the landlord. Surprisingly enough, it was the

427 author's father who gave this man an initial capital of 600
556 baht when he made his start in Bangchan some thirty years ago. He is now a millionaire and a father-in-law of a former top military officer.

427 Again it is the author's impression that, from the viewpoint of the villagers' best interests, the good side of absentee landism seems to outweigh the bad side.

427 Going back to the forces of demand for and supply of
494 rice land, it should be noticed that, as was so often the
435 case, free competition in the classical economist's sense did not exist in Bangchan where rents were often sticky. There was a wide range of different rent rates for fields of almost homogeneous nature as far as agronomic properties were concerned. Preference for prospective tenants was observed to have a personal rather than economic basis even on the part of the local landlords who were found to be most sensitive to rent rates. When a new higher rent rate was to be charged, it was observed that the most plausible excuse had to be found and presented to the tenants by the landlord. An example was the general raise of rent in 1953 when the new land tax was raised from 0.30 to 4.00 baht per rai, whereupon most local landlords immediately raised their rent from seven tang to eight tang per rai. One tang of
[851] paddy, however, was worth nine baht. It is seen, thus, that as a result of an increase of the government revenue of 3.70 baht per rai the local landlords also received an extra 5.30 baht per rai from their tenants who alone had to suffer an increase cost of nine baht per rai.

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

*243 426 432 Differentiation in paddy prices is limited to cases where farmers have received in advance the payment for paddy to be delivered at harvesting time. This is a common practice which is called in Thai "toq khao" (lit., fall rice). Usually, the advance price received by the farmer is about half or not more than three-fifths of what he would normally receive. Considering that cash is usually received about a month or two before the delivery of the paddy, it would seem that toq khao is a kind of loan with as high a rate of interest as from 25 to 50 per cent per month.

*243 426 465 A similar practice is adopted with respect to advanced payment for piecework, where pieceworkers are committed to uproot, transplant, or harvest at about half of the prevailing rates. This is called toq raeng (lit., fall labor).

*243 128 427 Tables 24 and 25, in the section on land tenure of Chapter III, show a wide range of rental rates of rice lands which have not demonstrated any marked difference in crop producing ability.

Rates of interest in Bangchan vary greatly from 0 to 10 per cent per month. This topic will be discussed more fully in later sections of this chapter.

*243 434 *556 The important point that should be observed in connection with these differentials in paddy prices, rates of interest, rentals, and wage is that it is the less affluent farmers who usually bear the burden of higher costs due to these practices. Thus, these differentiations serve only to widen the gap between poor and well-to-do farmers.